DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 064 443 UD 012 494

AUTHOR McLeod, Norman R.
TITLE Need, Culture and Curriculum. Educating Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities (A Survey of Literature).
INSTITUTION Toronto Board of Education (Ontario). Research Dept.
PUB DATE Oct 68
NOTE 92p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Bilingualism; Cultural Differences; *Culture Conflict; *Culture Contact; Culture Free Tests; Curriculum Design; Ethnic Groups; Ethnic Origins; Ethnic Studies; *Immigrants; Intelligence; Intelligence Tests; Language Usage; Minority Groups; Social Integration; Social Mobility; Socioeconomic Status; Sociolinguistics; *Teaching Methods
IDENTIFIERS Canada

ABSTRACT

This study gives a general description of the phenomena by which immigrants enter Canadian society, the culture they bring with them, and the degree to which they become acculturated through Canadian institutions, namely employment, and more particularly education. Canadian society is seen as a mosaic of various ethnic and minority groups in relief to American society, which traditionally has been thought of as a melting pot. A sociological examination is made of the term culture, the cultures of the various immigrant groups, and culture conflict in society in general and in the school system in particular. The remainder of the thesis deals with: (1) language, culture, and intelligence; (2) education of new Canadians--methods, programs, and reforms; (3) a special bibliography on the methods, programs, and reforms arising from problems of educating cultural minorities; and, (4) social class and social mobility of the ethnic minorities. [This document has been reproduced from the best available copy.] (SB)

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NEED, CULTURE AND CURRICULUM

Educating Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities
(A Survey of Literature)

Norman R. McLeod

RESEARCH SERVICE

issued by the

Research Department

October, 1968.

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NEED, CULTURE AND CURRICULUM
Educating Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities

IMMIGRATION AND THE CANADIAN MOSAIC

The Ideal of the Canadian Mosaic

Every society has an ideology -- that is, a way of looking at itself, an image of itself, a combination of what it is and what it thinks it should be. The ideology of a society is an important part of its identity: when Canadians speak of the presence or absence of a "Canadian identity," they are speaking of the ideology of Canadian society. Part of the Canadian self-image is the idea of the "mosaic" -- the notion that Canadian society is made up of a wide variety of ethnic groups, people from many national origins, each group maintaining many of its original traditions and customs, each group making its own unique contribution to the goals and patterns of living of the nation. This is not to say that every Canadian everywhere has the same values about his society, but only that there are certain predominant values and images in the society as a whole, which are held by the policy-makers, and which influence even those who do not believe in them.[1] One of these values is the value of ethnic and cultural diversity.

The image of the Canadian mosaic is reflected in some of the pronouncements of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The Commission speaks, not only of the "two founding races" (French and English), but also of "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safe-guard that contribution" (Preliminary Report, p. 186). The other ethnic groups

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1 An interesting theory of ideology and its importance in history can be found in Louis Hartz, The Founding of New Societies (New York: Harcourt Brace, and World, 1964). Included is an ideological history of Canada.

include, on the one hand, the Indians and Eskimos -- the original natives of Canada -- and on the other hand, the immigrants who come to Canada from all over the world -- Italians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Chinese, Hungarians, and so forth (see also McNaught, in Russell, 1966).

Historically, and even today, not everyone has favoured the continued influx of immigrants into Canada. Many spokesmen from Quebec have feared that immigration might eventually threaten the continued presence of the French-Canadian people as an equal partner in Confederation. Labour representatives have somtimes expressed the fear that immigrants would take away jobs from native-born Canadians (Peterson, in Blishen et al, 1965). In the past, there were even those who believed most immigrants were of inferior racial stock (Berger, in Russell, 1966, pp. 17-20). But the Canadian government believes, and can show, that immigration contributes to national economic growth, and the newcomers continue to arrive every day (Canada Yearbook 1967, pp. 215-226).

Among the apparent majority of Canadians who favour immigration, and who wish to see all groups benefit from and contribute to Canadian society, the value of ethnic diversity and the image of the mosaic prevails. In this, Canadians differ from their neighbours to the south. The United States is as much a nation of immigrants as is Canada, but the dominant American ideology has been of the "melting pot," into which pour all the immigrants from every origin, and out of which emerge Americans cast in the same mold. The melting pot represents a substantially different attitude to newcomers -- that differences ought to be minimized, and eradicated if possible. Actually, both ideologies of the melting pot and the mosaic have existed on either side of the border; the difference is that the former image has tended to predominate

in the United States, while the latter image has tended to predominate in Canada. Here is an expression by a sociologist of the attitudes to immigrants behind the "melting pot" philosophy:

> "Thus an immigrant appears to be assimilated when the bonds of his native country have lost all hold on him, when he feels himself a whole-hearted citizen of his new community, when he speaks its language, adopts its ways of life and thought, and when a practised foreign eye no longer detects any difference between his outlook, habits and behaviour and those of his new fellow-citizens." (Quoted in Lieberson 1963, p. 8)
>
> (Henri Bunle, 1950)

In contrast, here is a selection from a 1964 hearing in the Senate of Canada:

> "The Canadian Poles have two loyalties, which I think can be easily reconciled. Canadian Poles have a natural affection for the country of their origin or of the origin of their forefathers; they also have full loyalty and affection for the country of their adoption...."
>
> (Victor Podoski; former Polish Minister in Canada)
>
> "We have the same loyalty to Canada, but we have not forgotten the culture and history of our own particular motherland, Great Britain. In that respect the Poles are not different from ourselves."
>
> (Honourable Mr. Roebuck as quoted in Porter, 1965, p. 71)

Certain values are common to both images: both melting pot and mosaic seek to introduce the newcomer into full participation in the economic and social life of his host country. Implicit in both models is the value of equality of opportunity. The goal is to give the immigrant, and certainly his children, an equal chance to fulfil his needs and desires, to find jobs, housing, food, and companionship in his new environment.

The Reality Behind the Ideal

The ideology of a society is not necessarily synonymous with the reality -- which is another way of saying that people do not always live up to their own goals and values. The fact is that the two ideals of the melting pot and the mosaic represent substantially the same reality: members of the most recent group of immigrants in each country take the most menial and low-paying jobs, move into a limited number of areas, and occupy poor housing. There are, of course, those who move directly from a well-paid profession or trade in their land of origin into a similar position in Canada, those who spend a year or two in the new country learning English and re-establishing themselves before moving back into positions of equal standing to their original jobs, and those who "make it" rapidly and efficiently. But a large portion of each group remains in the lower strata of society, and begins to move into better jobs and housing only after the second or third generation. This pattern has been well-documented in the United States by many sociologists (e.g., Gordon, 1964); in Canada much less data is available, and in fact, one book stands out as the main reference: John Porter's study of social class and power in Canada, The Vertical Mosaic.

There are many people in both Canada and the United States who are shocked at the assertion that our modern society has a class system at all. To a great extent, people see what they want to see, and since Canadians and Americans are taught from childhood that all men were created equal, that democracy includes equality, and that we live in a democracy, we do not want to see inequality. This too is part of the ideology of Canada, and it covers a somewhat different reality.

What does it mean to say that our society is a class society? In its simplest terms, it means that some people get more than others: that some people get paid more than others for the work they do, that some people own more things, eat better food, and live in better houses than others. But it implies more than that. It also implies that the people who get more live differently from the people who get less, that the family that owns a split-level house in the suburbs behaves differently from the family that lives in a tenement house. Moreover, it implies that the children of the people who get more have a better chance of getting more themselves than the children of those who get less. And the people who get more are admired as "successful." One of the things they get more of is respect. The ideal of class suggests that although there are no legal restraints on "upward mobility" (which means, essentially, getting more than you used to) there are a number of less obvious factual barriers.[2]

People who get more have to qualify to get more. They can qualify in a variety of ways: by marrying the right people, by "making a fast buck" or by working their way through the educational system.[3] The class system means that the people in the lower classes can get into the higher classes if they qualify. They thereby attain upward mobility. They leave behind the class from which they came.

Professional and financial occupations are well-paying and prestigious jobs. They employed 8.6% of the total labour force in 1961 in Canada. Of the labour force of British origin, they employed 10.6%. Of the labour

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2 A good introduction to the subject of class and status is Kurt B. Mayer's Class and Society (New York: Random House, 1955). For a more elaborate consideration of various theories, see Bendix & Lipset (Eds.) Class Status and Power (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press of Glencoe, 1953).

3 R. J. Havighurst illustrates various ways of achieving mobility in Society and Education (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1962).

force of Italian origin, they employed 3.4%. On the other hand, unskilled labour pays poorly. In Canada, in 1961, 10% of the total labour force was doing unskilled labour. Out of the people of British origin, 7.7% were in such jobs. Out of the people of Italian origin, 21.5% were in such jobs (Porter, 1965, p. 87). What these figures demonstrate is a fact well-known to sociologists: a much higher proportion of people of recent immigrant origin are in the lower classes of our society than people of British origin. Over the years it seems that the more recently arrived the group, the more members of the group are in the lower classes. The pattern is for the most recent arrivals to fill the lowest strata of society.[4] On the whole, immigrants get less than English-speaking Canadians.

Over the years, ethnic groups may improve their position in the scale of social class. Individual members of a second generation of New Canadians attain upward mobility: they qualify, and enter the higher classes. Over several generations, a whole ethnic group may better its position, and other groups take its place on the bottom of the scale. Asians in Canada, for example, were substantially under-represented in the professional and financial classes in 1931; in 1961 they were slightly over-represented (Porter, 1965, p. 86).

The Environment of Poverty

The natural tendency of the newcomer in a strange land is to look for familiar things -- to live among people who speak the language with which he is comfortable and familiar, among families who raise their children in the same way and who share the same values and way of life, to attend the

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4 There may be an important exception to this: leaks from members of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism suggest that some ethnic groups have a higher average income than French-Canadians, but English-Canadians get more than either (Globe Magazine, July 20, 1968).

church that he knew in the homeland. Immigrants, for the most part, choose to live among other immigrants.

In the United States, this tendency has led to the creation of ghettos -- neighbourhoods in which one ethnic group lives to the virtual exclusion of all other ethnic groups. The Puerto Ricans live in one part of town, the Italians in another, and so forth (Handlin, 1959, pp. 28-40). Indications are that the pattern in Canada is slightly different: there are definite pockets of ethnic groups, but these pockets are likely to contain more than one group living in the same neighbourhood (Toronto Planning Board, 1960 Report). In both cases, however, the environment to which the immigrant first comes and the environment in which many (if not most) newcomers stay, is an environment of poverty, and of poverty in the large city.

There are a number of positive aspects of the ethnic pockets. A familiar environment is important for the psychological well-being of the individual; it provides a cushion in the process of adjusting to a new way of life. As Oscar Handlin has pointed out, "The development of fully functioning ethnic communities...furnished the individual with a medium through which he could understand the difficulties of the strange society around him and relate himself meaningfully to it." (1959, p. 40). But there is another side to the same story. Many New Canadians have high expectations of their adopted country. They come here under the impression that they will substantially improve their lot, and when they find that jobs are scarce, that the skills they brought with them are of little use to them, that they are trapped in a cycle of relative poverty, they are bitterly disappointed. Professor A. H. Richmond, in a study of Toronto ethnic groups found that only one-fifth of the postwar immigrants in the city were "very satisfied" with life in Canada (Toronto Star, July 8, 1967).

The pockets of ethnic groups in the cities are pockets of relative poverty. Hence a community of immigrants and their descendants is largely a community of the lower classes. The lower-class New Canadian is, therefore, not only an isolated individual who "gets less" but a member of a whole community of people who get less. He can be only partially upwardly mobile as long as he stays in that community. That is, he can get more, but not much more. To move out of the lower classes, into a steady, well-paying job which requires a high degree of education, he must leave behind the community, with its familiar way of life. He must adopt goals and values foreign to his own upbringing.

An American sociologist, Norbert F. Wiley, has developed a theory to explain the difference between upward mobility within the ethnic community and upward mobility into the middle class of the main body of American society. He calls it the "ethnic mobility trap" (Wiley, 1967). Instead of the traditional picture of the social ladder, along which the individual can climb from rung to rung, qualifying for better and better jobs, moving directly into better neighbourhoods, getting more and more with each step, Wiley paints the picture of a tree whose limbs slant upward. The Puerto Rican in New York who moves up from a common labourer's job to managing a local store is in an ethnic mobility trap: he has moved up within his own community, but he is literally "out on a limb." In order to advance to the next limb -- say, become an executive in a large corporation -- he would have to go back to the trunk, so to speak, back to school. And once he moved to the next limb, he would leave behind his community, his friends, all his roots.

Education is the main avenue to upward mobility. Obviously, the school has a key role to play in helping more people to get more, as well as in seeking supposedly loftier goals. From the school, the individual can win

a diploma which is his ticket to upward mobility. But the environment of poverty presents the school with a group of children very different from the children of an environment of affluence. Moreover, a large portion of such children are the children of immigrants. Many do not even speak English. Six hours a day, five days a week may be spent in the school, the representative of the English-Canadian way of life. But the child lives in another world. He lives a way of life different from that of middle-class English-Canadians, in a community of people who get less. And he brings his environment and upbringing with him to the school.

The ideal of the Canadian mosaic indicates a broader role for the school than that of helping isolated individuals to "get more." If the schools are to aid in attaining the goal of national unity through the diversity of ethnic groups, then the schools have a role to play with ethnic communities as well as ethnic individuals. Recent American approaches to minority groups (for example, Gordon, 1964) are founded on a re-discovery of the value of ethnic diversity: the importance for the individual of retaining his ties with the group from which he came. The term "integration" has replaced the term "assimilation" in this literature as the best way for the member of an ethnic minority to adjust to American ways of life. To integrate an individual is to allow him to retain much of his native culture, while introducing him to new ways of meeting his needs at the same time (Gordon, 1964, pp. 67-68). Such a process, hailed as a radical new approach in the United States, is a natural extension of the ideal of the mosaic.

CULTURE CONFLICT AND THE EDUCATION OF NEW CANADIANS

The Culture the Immigrant Brings with Him

The lower-class districts of Canadian cities include large concentrations of New Canadians. There are, therefore, communities of ethnic groups in Toronto in which live, side by side, a variety of cultures.

Culture has been defined, very simply, as a "blueprint for living" which a group or society evolves over a period of time, patterns of behaviour which its members use for living (Kluckhohn, 1944 quoted in Brody, 1966, p. 853). More elaborately defined, it is:

> "...what each individual adult human being has acquired through learning, from birth on, and which makes it possible for him not only to satisfy his needs but to do so in association and in relation with other human beings who share the same ideas, values, attitudes, skills, etc. Culture is also the organic sum of ideas, attitudes, skills, etc. that are operative in the group or society as a whole. Each individual has his share precisely because he grew up in this society and has been brought up as a member of it."
>
> (André Rénaud; brief to Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission, 1965)

Culture, therefore, includes all the attitudes, values, the whole style of life and even ways of thinking which the individual learns from others, his family and the people around him. Culture, for the child, usually finds its primary expression within the family. The child learns the various ways that a family has learned (from its ancestors, and from the other members of the group to which they belong) for coping with a certain environment -- that is, for fulfilling needs.

But needs are not satisfied in a vacuum. Materials needs are met by the materials at hand -- by a different set of materials in the valleys of

Greece from the materials found in the Canadian Arctic, for example. Psychological and emotional needs are also met by the patterns of human relations evolved through a long tradition. What is functional, what works, for one environment, may not necessarily work for another. Hence, as the environment of a group or society changes, the culture must adapt itself to these changes; and when an individual or family moves from one environment to another, it must adapt itself and thereby both its culture and even to a small degree that of the new environment.

A good example of a culture which functions well in one environment but not necessarily in another is provided by the family pattern of southern Italians. The Italian family is a stronghold. Loyalty to the family -- which includes grandparents, cousins, nephews and nieces -- is perhaps the strongest tie an Italian has. Luigi Barzini, in his classic study of the Italian character, notes:

> "There have been men in Italy who, in wars not of their liking, often did only what was necessary merely to return alive to their homes and no more, men who could be technically accused of cowardice; the same men often face, when it becomes necessary, in peacetime, almost unbearable sacrifices and mortal dangers for the sake of their parents or children."
>
> (Barzini, 1964, p. 194)

Barzini has a whole chapter on the Italian family and its structure, and what follows is drawn largely from that chapter, and from the more objective research of Leonard Covello (1944, Part 3).

The nominal head of the Italian family is the most capable male -- the father, or if he is disabled, a brother. He is, to all outward appearances, in supreme command of his family; no one would dare question his word. But in reality he shares his power equally with the mother, and often the mother is the real "power behind the throne." Boys are raised to be breadwinners

and family defenders; girls are raised to manage their own homes. Any good fortune attained by any family member is to be shared with all; family comes before self. As soon as a young son is able to contribute, he must do so.

This pattern of family living functions admirably in southern Italy, the environment in which it developed. If the family is a peasant family, it needs every working body it can use to keep living on a subsistence diet. In a poor, rural area, close ties among family members are one way to ensure survival (Covello, 1967). But in Canadian industrial society, the same pattern of family loyalty has different implications. Children may not see school as important after they are old enough to work. A son who goes into business with some success may feel he must share it with his family, rather than investing his money in further business ventures. The pattern which was necessary in Italy is unnecessary, and perhaps detrimental, in Canada, at least in enabling individuals to acquire the best material standards they can get.

But material needs are not the only needs men have, and as we noted in the previous chapter, certain familiar patterns of life may be necessary for the newcomer to provide the psychological needs of security, and emotional gratification. Hence, the family solidarity of the Italian family in Canada or the United States may actually be a more successful means of adapting to a new culture than some sociologists have claimed (e.g., Glazer and Moynihan, 1963, pp. 195 ff.). Some students of cultural change believe that any culture, since it is basically a means of coping with the environment and fulfilling needs, is inherently adaptable. That is, any pattern of learned behaviour which is suited to meet needs in one set of circumstances will change surprisingly quickly when the circumstances change.

Peter Marais, in a study of businessmen in Africa, (1967) found that most of them were quick to learn the dangers of including their families in their business ventures. Marais suggests that people learn very quickly to change their habitual ways of doing things when they really have to, and when the change brings real and obvious benefits. Many Africans are more eager to advance their education than most lower-class Englishmen. Although the African may have been raised in a tribe with a pattern of life within which a formal Western education would seem a drawback, he is convinced that he can find a better way of life outside the tribe through education. He sincerely believes that he can better his lot. The working-class Englishman does not. And Marais suggests that perhaps the working-class Englishman is not terribly unrealistic (pp. 767-769).

Here, Marais is challenging one of the most basic assumptions held by a large proportion of American sociologists, the assumption behind most anti-poverty programmes: that the culture of the poor is at fault for their poverty. For even those educators and sociologists who claim to find a great deal of positive value in the way of life of the Negro poor in t he United States, at the same time assume that his way of life prevents the Negro child from attaining success in the school system and upward mobility in the social system (see next chapter, "Language, Culture and Intelligence). What Marais is suggesting is that however much the culture of the poor may seem at fault for their poverty, the fact remains that their poverty -- and the lack of real opportunity to escape it -- is at fault for their culture. The slum-dweller learns the attitudes and ways of behaving that are, in fact, most suited to his probable future -- more poverty.

The problems of the "culturally deprived" children in the slums of American cities may not seem immediately relevant to the problems of immigrant

children in Canadian cities. Yet there may be more similarities than differences. A large number of the immigrant children in Canadian schools live in poor city districts -- slums, in a word. Their culture is not only a culture imported from their native land, but a culture which has adapted (or is adapting) itself to an environment of poverty in Canada. True, their native language is not English; but language has been found to be a problem among the "culturally deprived" as well as among immigrant children (Skene, 1966, pp. 50-60).

Although much of Europe (and most of northern Italy) is highly industrialized, not every European enjoys the benefits of industrial society. For many immigrants the problem goes deeper than the combination of poverty in Canada and lack of ability in the English language: there are many immigrant children in Toronto schools who come from families that lived in rural areas in their home country. Out of 100 Italian families contacted by the International Institute during their 1962-64 study of immigrants in Toronto, 59 were from the southern districts of Italy (Ferguson, 1964, p. 28). These people came from a peasant society. Their culture in that society was not simply Italian, but rural and pre-industrial, for the peasant in southern Europe is not a farmer as we know farmers, but a toiler in fields which probably do not belong to him. His traditional means of coping with his environment is drastically different, not only from the Canadian way, but from the way of any city dweller, and of anyone involved in the modern mechanized, and industrial techniques of meeting needs. Of the same 100 Italian families contacted by the International Institute, 56 of the male family heads had had five years or less of education (p. 41). What this implies is that a great number of New Canadians are faced with a double-culture conflict: they have to adjust, not just to the English language and

the Canadian way of life, but to the city itself and industrial society. The educational problems of their children are thereby compounded.

If culture is a combination of all the techniques a group of people have learned to use to meet their needs, and needs are psychological as well as material, it follows that different ethnic groups will have, not only different languages and family patterns, but even different psychological characteristics. And indeed, there is evidence that such is the case. Psychiatrists take cultural difference in individual psychology seriously enough to be investigating a whole field of "cross-cultural psychotherapy," seeking ways of treating psychological disorders in one culture with some of the knowledge gained in another. Psychiatrists from Europe and North America have found that in treating mental illness among Nigerians, it is useful to cooperate with traditional native healers so as to communicate through familiar concepts and attitudes (Bolman, 1968).

Similarly, there are some indications that culture influences the whole development of what we call broadly "intelligence." The implications of this possibility are obviously important for education. They will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Confrontation of Cultures

In the United States, as Wiley puts it, (1967, p. 147) "the history of American mobility is largely the history of ethnic assimilation." That is, in a class society where the ethnic minorities are largely concentrated in the lower classes, to get more and to adjust to the middle-class American way of life, are largely the same process. Given what we have already said about Canadian society (see previous chapter) the same could be said of Canada. Some individual immigrants are more successful than others in getting more;

and to do so, to escape from the "ethnic mobility trap," they find that they must adopt the language, customs, and even the values (such as not bargaining everyplace) of native English speaking Canadians.

There are a variety of assets which make it easier for the individual immigrant who possesses these assets to attain upward mobility and adapt successfully to his new culture. No single factor operates independently from the other factors. The major factors identified by sociologists are: (1) education, experience and social class in the country of origin; (2) early settlement in a non-ethnic community and positive contact with natives of the new country; (3) motivation of the immigrant in moving (to make more money, escape from political persecution, etc.); (4) acceptance by natives in the new country.

The importance of educational and class background for the adjustment of immigrants has been noted by S. A. Weinstock (1963), and commented on by R. J. Silvers (1965). Weinstock found that immigrants who had had well-paying jobs in the home country which required a high degree of education were quick to adopt the language and culture of the new country, as compared to immigrants with a lower-class background. Commenting on Weinstock's findings, Silvers suggested that other factors were at play as well, especially the subjective element of motivation: some lower-class immigrants want to better their condition, and succeed in doing so by assimilating or integrating into the new culture. At the same time Silvers cites several studies which show that among very high-class people -- the idle rich, and some people with valuable skills -- there is a pride in the mother culture and language which encourages them <u>not</u> to assimilate into the new culture (pp. 73-74). What this suggests is that while education and middle-class origins make it easier for the immigrant to adjust, the immigrant will not adjust unless he wants to adjust.

A fruitful analysis employs a distinction between "subjective" and "objective" integration. The immigrant who looks to be part of his new environment, (e.g., speaks English, has English speaking friends and subscribes to an English language paper) is said to be "objectively" integrated. The immigrant who values his new nationality, who thinks of himself as "Canadian," who thinks of Canada as his home, is said to be "subjectively" integrated. Baranyi, (1963, p. 117) found that skilled and educated immigrants, in a sample taken in Toronto, were more likely than lower-class immigrants to be "objectively" integrated, even when they were not "subjectively" integrated.

Jerold Heiss (1967) has demonstrated that immigrants who moved directly into neighbourhoods or communities of other immigrants from the same country take longer to assimilate to the culture of the new country than do immigrants who move into non-ethnic communities. However, Heiss took into account in his study the factor of motivation, so that he was able to come up with evidence that even people who didn't want to assimilate were more likely to assimilate if they had close contact with natives of the new country (in this case, Australia) (p. 167).

Obviously, the factor of motivation is more complex than the simple question of whether the immigrant wants to assimilate or not. For one thing, he may want to make friends, find a good job, and lead a prosperous life in his new country without rejecting all his roots and the use of his native language in certain situations. If he has to do the latter in order to do the former, he may very well refuse. For another thing, there are a variety of reasons why he may have chosen to immigrate at all, and these may lead him to adjust to his new environment in any number of ways. For example, the study conducted by the International Institute in Toronto (Ferguson, 1964)

found that some immigrants come to Canada with the intention of staying only temporarily, long enough to save up a small sum of money which would go a long way in the home country (p. 34). Such people are a small minority of immigrants, by all indications (Canzona, 1963, p. 138), but they are unlikely to be anxious to learn the English language, adopt the Canadian way of life, or take out Canadian citizenship at an early date.

Whatever the attitude of the immigrant to his new environment, his success in that environment depends at least as much on the attitudes of natives in the receiving country as it does on his own. Obviously, if his neighbours are suspicious of his way of life, and avoid him or even persecute him, the immigrant will have little success in integrating into his new environment (Bowers, 1944, p. 13). Prejudice is a strong barrier to overcome. But prejudice can be confusing, and hard to identify. One study of American college students (Smith et al, 1967) showed that white and Negro students both expressed more antagonism to alien beliefs, religions and political allegiances, than to the more easily-identified characteristics of differences in race and colour. Another study (Jones and Lambert, 1967) showed that Canadians react to immigrants in different ways in different social situations: people who show prejudice to immigrants in their jobs may be very tolerant of newcomers in the church (p. 411). Prejudice on the part of Canadians toward New Canadians, whether in its obvious aspects (discrimination in employment, which is frowned upon by government policy, for example) or in its more subtle aspects, such as avoidance of friendship with strangers, discourages the New Canadian from leaving the security of his local ethnic community.

An interesting perspective on the problem of adjusting to a new environment can be gained from looking at the fate of Americans who live in

other countries. Most Americans overseas live in communities with other Americans, and cling to familiar people and ways of life. The oil companies in the Middle East, for example, have "compounds" of prefabricated houses, with North American plumbing and other conveniences, and a barbed-wire fence on the borders of the community. But some Americans overseas, such as members of the Peace Corps, are in a situation where they must associate regularly with the natives and adapt to their way of life. Dennison Nash (1967) conducted a study of about 350 Americans in a Spanish city, scattered in such a way that they could not form their own isolated community. He found that over a number of years, "Even the Americans who had lived for many years in the city, married into the host society, and come to feel 'more at home,' could not be thought to identify completely with the hosts." (p. 162). And the process of adjusting was an extremely difficult one, which some Americans never mastered at all. Learning a new language was a relatively minor problem compared with learning to understand a whole new way of life -- different concepts of time (punctuality is not highly valued among the Spanish), different standards of hygiene, different ways of making and keeping friends (p. 159). The literature concerning the American Peace Corps and the Canadian University Services Overseas abounds with discussions of "culture shock," the psychological effects of having to adjust to a strange way of life.[5]

Culture Conflict in the School System

Acculturation (the sociologists' term for adjusting to a new way of life) and upward mobility, carry a heavy price for the individual immigrant. As long as getting more entails leaving behind a familiar community, even rejecting the language, customs and values of one's own family, upward mobility

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5 See, for example, McWhinney & Godfrey, (Eds.) Man Deserves Man: CUSO in Developing Countries. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968.

can do cruel things to the man who chooses to attempt it. And it many cases, if not most, this man is not a man at all, but a child: for the main avenue of upward mobility, as we have already said, is the school system; and it is the immigrant's child, and not the immigrant himself, who learns how to get more by the earning of certificates and diplomas.

The moment a New Canadian child enters a school, he faces strange and frightening surroundings. This is true of almost any child, but much more acutely so for the immigrant child. If he has come himself from another land, he might never have been inside a modern building. Even if he was born in Canada, his home environment has not prepared him for school as well as the home of a suburbanite. Everyone around him speaks a strange language: this is the most obvious difficulty, but aside from the strange language and surroundings, there are toys and tools which he may never have seen before. Several studies of deprived children in the United States note that children of the slums seldom see a toy, a crayon, or a pencil before they get to school (Sacadat, 1965; Asbell, 1963). Burgin and Edson (1967, p. 15), found the same to be true of the immigrant children who attended Spring Grove School in England. The child who not only does not speak the language of the school, but also is unfamiliar with the most basic tools of learning, is obviously handicapped.

But the immigrant child may bring with him less obvious handicaps as well. Graham and Meadows (1967) found a high incidence of emotional disturbance among West Indian children in England, many of whose parents had left them with relatives for a number of years before bringing them over to England to join them. The same group of children tended to have difficulty in learning to read, and to score low on intelligence tests. The implication is that some of the emotional effects of immigration on children may also produce learning difficulties.

The conflict within the child does not end with the first day, or the first year, in the school; if anything, it only begins to intensify. The New Canadian child still lives in a home with a family whose culture is not the culture of the school, and his friends and neighbours, adults and child alike, are no more likely to live the culture of the school than is his family. The conflict of cultures is a conflict of attitudes and values, of patterns of behaviour, of needs and demands, even of the functions of intellect itself.

The conflict of attitudes can take place at a very subtle level -- as in the case of children raised in a culture where textbook learning is regarded as inappropriate for a real man (or woman, as the case may be) (Taylor, 1967, p. 307). More directly felt, however, is the attitude of the child's native culture to the school system itself. For example, Covello (1944) found that southern Italian immigrants in New York were accustomed to a very simple view of education; children should learn a traditional moral code at home, values and beliefs passed on from generation to generation. Beyond this, they should have only a very few limited skills learned at home or through apprenticeship. Any schooling above a bare minimum of reading and writing skills was regarded as suitable only for the "better" classes, and for a few individuals who were determined to enter a profession (p. 287). As a result, Italian families tended to regard the school with hostility and suspicion: the law required that children stay in school until they were sixteen, long after the family considered them old enough to work.

The conflict in patterns of behaviour, and in ways of relating to people, is perhaps the most difficult one for the immigrant child, for it is the hardest for others to understand. A teacher might find it relatively easy to understand why a child resents going to school when his parents teach

him he belongs elsewhere; but the same teacher might be exasperated by some of the unexpected reactions she gets from her methods of asserting authority, or even her attempts at humour. Educationalists concerned with teaching Indian children have noted that "stories written to make Saskatoon children laugh or weep do not evoke the same response from the Indian child" (Connelly, 1964). Similarly, children from different cultures may have learned different ways of reacting to authority: to look humbly at the ground when being scolded, for example, instead of looking the teacher in the eye. Unfortunately, no one has written a comprehensive guide to cultural behaviour for the teacher who has students from many ethnic groups.

Through his culture, the individual learns how to meet his needs. If he has learned to meet his needs through one pattern, and the school demands another, or if he has needs which he values highly and the school does not, the school will not win the heart of that pupil. The young high school student who wants to work after school, or instead of school, may well <u>need</u> a job -- not only because he is poor, and needs money, but because he is a man, and needs the respect of his family and friends (Covello, 1944, p. 381 ff.). Yet not only does the school contradict many of the values held by the immigrant child, adolescent or young adult, it often tells him in subtle ways that his way of life -- and, therefore, he -- is inherently inferior. Studies of classroom life in urban slum schools in the United States have revealed a wide range of ways in which the message of inferiority is carried. Just by saying to a pupil, "How on earth did you know that?" the teacher can tell that child that she does not expect much of him (Leacock, 1968, p. 849). Moreover, the material of study is often unfamiliar to the child from an urban ethnic community, and contributes to the notion that he lives an alien and inferior way of life (Saffer, 1965).

In spite of all these obstacles, many immigrant children do graduate from the present school system, which often makes upward mobility possible. For this they, and their communities, pay a heavy price. Surveys and case studies on acculturation show the frequent damaging psychological effect on the individual who leaves behind and rejects the community (and culture) in which he grew. In a series of psychological tests administered to bilinguals, Dorothy T. Spoerl (1943) found a high incidence of emotional disturbance, most of which seemed attributable to a conflict of cultural identity; the parents spoke one language, and identified themselves with one culture, while the children had come to adopt many of the values and ways of life, as well as the language, of another culture. Just as surely as the child of a mixed marriage needs to know whether he is Jew or Gentile or some combination of the two, so the child of Portuguese immigrants needs to know whether he is Portuguese or Canadian, and if being Canadian means moving away from his Portuguese neighbourhood, ceasing to speak Portuguese, and denigrating his heritage, then being Canadian may be a painful thing.

In a series of case studies of students from tribal societies in Liberia and from the Cree tribe in Canada, a McGill psychologist identifies the double price of individual upward mobility. The price to the individual centres on the problem of identity: every child learns much of his way of life by imitating the models of adults, and the child who must choose between the model he sees at home and the very different model he sees at school, is placed under a great deal of strain. To reject the model of his own family may be a heart-rendering and permanently wounding choice (Wintrob, 1968).

The price to the community is that it often loses it most intelligent and promising young members, people who would have been leaders in their community, who might have played an important role in integrating the whole

community into the modern society outside. Instead of contributing to their community, these "successful" young people move out and join another community entirely, a community of people who get more. At best, they send money to their families.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence and Culture

Everybody knows what intelligence is -- or at least, each of us knows what he means by it. Little girls playing hop-scotch judge their friends according to how well they can play hop-scotch. Primitive man knew about intelligence thousands of years before civilization: clever men were successful hunters. Construction workers today know about intelligence: some of those college boys who work for the summer are so stupid they can't even shovel gravel properly. And of course, school teachers know about intelligence: sometimes they judge children as to whether or not they can learn arithmetic or grammar.

The little girls, the primitive men, the construction workers, and the school teachers, are talking about various abilities, yet they are all defining intelligence. Briefly, intelligence can be defined as the ability to solve problems, to cope with a situation. But various people face various problems in different situations; the man who can hunt successfully may not be able to shovel gravel, or excel in arithmetic or grammar. Within the limited environment of the school system, certain specific abilities and talents are required for success. Educators want to know ahead of time which children are intelligent enough to succeed in school and which children are not. That is, they want to know which children have the specific abilities to cope with the environment of the school.

Late in the last century, Francis Galton developed a scale of intellectual ability, according to which he "graded" races, believing firmly that racial characteristics, including intelligence, were inborn

and inherited (Garrett, 1951, p. 284). And Alfred Binet, who developed the first of the modern "intelligence tests," assumed that what he was measuring was a native, inborn capacity, and that it indicated the ability of the individual to solve any kind of problem (Garrett, 1951, p. 220). It is easy, on the basis of such assumptions and theories, to conclude that no only are some children born stupid, but some races are by nature, inferior.

Over the years, various studies which have applied intelligence tests to children of various backgrounds, have found that low scores on such tests seem to coincide more often with a lower-class family background than with a middle-class background; and these lower-class children belong to a "different" ethnic group. Such evidence proves little about inherited racial characteristics, let alone what is superior or inferior. The concept that there are "races" in this world, each with its own distinct characteristics, is at best an uncertain one, and possibly a fallacy[6] -- for the interbreeding that has taken place within the human species over the centuries has made it difficult for anthropologists to define what they mean by "race." What distinguishes one group of people from another in this world, far more clearly than any genetic differences, is its culture and language (Montagu, 1952).

Similarly, psychologists have come to recognize that nearly all the tasks assigned to children in the school, including those on intelligence tests, required skills above and beyond the actual capacity to learn these skills. The abilities of a child to succeed in the school system are a specific group of learned skills which he brings with him. Only a small proportion of children, from all ethnic groups and classes, are born retarded,

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6 For an extensive discussion of "race" differences see Chapter 17 in Anne Anastasi, Differential Psychology, (New York: MacMillan, 1958).

due to brain damage or defects in the genes.[7] Beyond this, while undoubtedly a certain inherited mental capacity varies from person to person, "intelligence" refers to the skills with which each person meets the challenges of specific problems. And people learn skills (Jensen, 1968, p. 7). Any intellectual test, whether labelled an "intelligence test," an "aptitude test" or an "achievement test," measures a limited number of skills: such a test measures the extent to which the individual has learned to solve the kind of problem which appears on that test (Wesman, 1968, 269).

What has been verified is that different ethnic groups (defined by their culture and language, rather than the mythical term "race") tend to exhibit different predominant talents. Perhaps the most reliable research on ethnic differences in intellectual performance is a study conducted in 1965 by Lesser, Fifer and Clark. The authors used four different types of test, testing four different categories of intellectual performance: verbal ability (i.e. facility with the English language); reasoning (basically, applying logic to a limited set of information); numbers (mathematical facility); and space conceptualization (identifying and using shapes, sizes and movement). The tests were applied to children from four ethnic groups in New York -- Chinese, Jewish, Negro and Puerto Rican. The children from each of the four ethnic groups were drawn from both lower and middle-class families, with the lower and middle-class children tested separately. The results showed that the level of performance on the tests tended to rise with social class no matter which ethnic group (in New York) was tested; that is, middle-class Chinese children, on the average performed better on all types of tests than lower-class Chinese children; middle-class Puerto Rican children tended to perform better than lower-class Puerto Rican children, etc. But the

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7 Again Anne Anastasi discusses the role of heredity at length in Chapters 3 and 4 of Differential Psychology (New York: MacMillan, 1958).

patterns of performance remained more or less constant within each group. Chinese children tended to show their highest scores on the space and number tests and lowest on the verbal test; Jewish children tended to show their highest scores on the verbal test, next on the number test, then on the reasoning test, and lowest on the space test; Negro children tended to show their highest scores on the space test, and lowest on the verbal test; and Puerto Rican children tended to show their highest scores on the verbal test, and the lowest on the number test -- whether they were lower-class children or middle-class children (Stodolsky and Lesser, 1967).

What these findings suggest is that the range of intellectual abilities that are measured by standard tests -- the abilities which seem most closely related to the tasks children must perform in the present education system -- varies both from economic class to economic class and from ethnic group to ethnic group. Specifically, the level of performance tends to rise as the family income and the class rise, while the pattern of which abilities tend to predominate varies from ethnic group to ethnic group.

That intelligence test results are influenced by the class of the children who are tested, is a common theme in research into the "culturally disadvantaged child" (e.g., Rieber & Womack, 1968). None of these studies has identified specifically and definitely what aspects of the environment of poverty are responsible for inhibiting the performance of children from lower-class homes on intelligence tests and in school. But almost all of them note that such factors as the language facility of parents, the toys and objects with which the young child has become familiar, the emotional atmosphere of the home, and even whether the child has learned how to take tests, all seem to influence the performance of an individual child on intelligence tests (Adler, 1967, p. 105).

The suggestion which arises from the 1965 study by Lesser and his colleagues, and from other similar studies (e.g., Werner, Simonian & Smith, 1968), is that the culture in which the child grows up at home -- the mode of dealing with his environment, which he learns at home -- must have a strong and complex influence on the intellectual talents he will develop. Culture, whether the culture of a particular ethnic group or the culture of a level of social status, or a combination of both, has a profound influence on a child's intellectual performance, as well as his attitudes and values. Nevertheless, the question still remains, what specific factors influence intellectual development in what ways? Only speculative answers are available to this kind of question.

Language and Intelligence

The relation of language to thought is a controversial question, debated among philosophers, psychologists, and linguists alike. Nearly all such academics are in agreement that there is a close link between language and thought, particularly the kind of abstract thought which takes place in our education system. But the nature of the link between them remains an open question: for example, is language necessary before certain kinds of thought can take place? Or is language simply a way of communicating thought from one person to another?[8] In other words, which influences which, language or thought? There is evidence for both sides. The philosophers Sartre (1956, pp. 509-531) and Wittgenstein, the psychologist Vygotsky (Case, 1968), and

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8 Concurrent with this report the Research Department is preparing another report on the development of an English competence test.

some linguists such as Whorf (Carroll, 1964), maintain that unless they learn the labels and logical structures of language, children will not think above a primitive level or that speaking and thinking, if not actually one and the same act, are impossible to separate. Others (e.g., Brown, 1954) disagree.

But whether or not language and thought can be distinguished, and whichever of the two is primary, the evidence is overwhelming that it is through language that children learn to use their innate mental capacity in certain ways, to solve specific types of problems, and to label and identify their experience.

There is evidence that different languages are linked to different ways of thinking. Studies of bilinguals (e.g., Kolers, 1968) indicate that a person who learns an idea or theory in one language has difficulty expressing it in his second language unless he has learned it separately in that language as well. Moreover, words which are normally translated directly from one language to another -- for example, from "freedom" in English to "liberté" in French -- actually have different associations for the truly bilingual person; and the more abstract the words are, the further apart are their significances in two languages.

Carl Bereiter, who has developed a method of teaching the logic of standard modern English to children from deprived homes, takes this a step further (Bereiter and Engelman, 1966): if a child never learns to speak of a concept or idea, for all practical purposes, he cannot use it. If his vocabulary does not include the distinction between "this is an apple" and "that is not an apple," whether he actually knows the difference or not, he cannot use that distinction for further learning, and he certainly will not learn very much in our present school system. This is the premise on which Bereiter bases his teaching method; there may be other methods based on the

same premise, and these alternatives will be discussed later in this report. What is significant at this point is that some thought processes are learned through language, through a particular language with a particular structure. And it would seem that what processes of abstract thinking are learned depends largely on what structures of language are taught. One way or another, whichever comes first, the way a man uses his mind has a great deal to do with the language he speaks.

Language and Culture

If language is linked to the thought patterns of the individual, it is also linked to the cultural patterns of a group. "Bilingualism and biculturalism" are the two subjects of a great deal of debate in Canada, and it is doubtful that the two can be separated: the defence of the right to speak their language is seen by French-Canadians as an integral part of the struggle to maintain their culture.

Language and culture are not the same thing, but language is an important aspect of culture. If culture is the sum total of the means a group uses to cope with its environment, then language is one of the techniques of culture: the Italian language is a technique of the Italian culture, and the Sicilian dialect is a technique of the Sicilian sub-culture (Hoijer, 1956).

Not only is language itself an important part of a culture, but it is through language that many other aspects of the culture -- values and beliefs, the whole educational process -- are transmitted. The meaning of a single word, its emotional significance, and the images it conveys, express many complex things about the culture out of which that word comes. A common word like "table" could conceivably have a different significance in

different cultures (Kolers, 1968) -- if, for example, the most notable aspect of a table to an Englishman was that it usually has a chair in front of it, while for someone from another culture its most notable characteristic might be that itis usually found inside a house. Hence, the language teacher, who sets out to teach linguistic skills, will find himself also teaching parts of the culture, i.e. values, perspectives, and modes of thought, when he deals with meanings (Trager, 1963).

A Synthesis: Culture, Intelligence and Language

Language is a technique of culture; language is also closely linked with patterns of intellectual skills; and culture appears to influence patterns of intellectual skills as well. Obviously all three elements -- language, culture and intelligence -- are related, through no one seems to be sure exactly how. Nevertheless, a certain pattern is evident: the culture in which an individual child grows up (that is, the traditional means of meeting needs, learned by the child from his family, who learned their habits of behaviour from their family and society) includes certain habitual ways of using the mind, patterns of intellectual techniques, modes of thought, perspectives on the world; and some, if not all, of these mental skills are transmitted, learned and applied through the techniques of a particular dialect of a particular language.

The British sociologist Basil Bernstein makes a strong case for the importance of language in the intellectual development of children. Bernstein notes that in many lower-class families, the language with which parents address their children is limited. For example, when a child handles a vase, he will probably be told, simply, "don't touch that." All he knows is that he is forbidden to touch the object he is holding at that moment;

he has learned nothing more from the words he has heard. Another child, from a middle-class home, might be told, "don't play with that vase, you might break it." He thereby learns not only that he must not touch the object he is holding, but that he should not handle vases in general; and he knows the reason -- vases might break. Over many years in the home, the middle-class child from a verbal home has the opportunity to learn and practise basic deductive and inductive thought, the process of abstracting the categories of objects and defining properties, and a complex way of perceiving his experiences. The child from a home where he hears little more than simple commands has far less opportunity to develop such skills (Fantini and Weinstein, 1968, pp. 47-55).

Earlier in this paper it was noted that culture is a combination of various techniques of meeting needs in a particular environment. Hence, the culture of the poor is an attempt to meet needs in an environment of poverty; the culture of the Italian peasant is an attempt to meet needs in rural Italy; and the culture of the southern Italian <u>immigrant</u> from a rural area is in a process of adjusting to meet his needs in his new Canadian environment.

There is evidence that language, as an aspect of culture, may be similarly functional. Studies of the language of the "hard care" poor in the United States (Cohen, Fraenkel & Brewer, 1968) indicate that the English dialect spoken by people resigned to their poverty is qualitatively different from the standard English of middle-class families and the school system; and moreover, that the language usage indicates a different perception and use of the mind. The distinctive use of language and intellect might well indicate a means of adjusting to the circumstances of poverty. For instance, the language of the "hard core" poor contains little reference to time as a progressive continuum: time is perceived moment by moment, incident by

incident, and not as a series of events which lead to one another and on to the future (pp. 24-25). Such a perception of time might be useful in the world of these poor: it might equip the individual to face his day-to-day fluctuation of good and bad luck without emotional upset. The culture, the language, and the mental skills, which are suited to meeting needs in the slums, or in the villages of southern Europe, or on the Indian reservation, are not the techniques required by our school system. The school system requires a number of skills of abstract thought -- of generalization, of causal relations, of categories and relations among categories. Many of these skills are basic for coping with the environment of industrial society, and for doing the kinds of jobs which are regarded as important for industrial production and progress. Such jobs are the better-paying jobs in our society.

But the child from a Negro family in an American ghetto, the Indian child in Canada, and the child of an immigrant from a peasant society in southern Italy or Portugal, have one thing in common: the cultures of their families are not the cultures of an industrial society. The skills they learn at home, of language and intellect, are not the skills required by the school system. Although little research has been done on this topic, there are some indications that the greatest cultural gap in the school systems is not between people who don't speak English and people who do, but between people with a pre-industrial culture (or a culture of poverty) and people with the cultural patterns of an affluent industrial society. An analysis of the relative success of various immigrant groups in the schools of London revealed that West Indian children -- who come from English-speaking countries -- tend to be <u>less</u> successful than children from non-English-speaking countries (ILEA Study, 1968, p. 6). The implication is that perhaps the child whose language and culture are the language and culture of poverty or of a pre-industrial society -- even if his language is actually a dialect of English --

is at a far greater disadvantage in the Canadian school system than the child whose parents are skilled, middle-class immigrants raised in a large city.

The Search for Culture-Fair Intelligence Tests[9]

Educators and psychologists became increasingly aware that the standard intelligence tests measure only learned skills. At the same time, evidence began to pile up that such tests are unfair when applied to children from different cultures, who learn different skills. The search began for a test which would be fair to any child from any culture. The first inclination might be to go back to the objectives of Binet, to invent a truly culture-free test which would test only learning which is in no way affected by upbringing and environment. But an attempt to invent such a culture-free test, in the blunt words of Alexander Wesman, "is sheer nonsense" (p. 269) for all learning takes place in a particular environment, as part of the way a child is brought up and as part of what a child or adult experiences.

The next step was to develop a test with a content which would be familiar to children from different cultures. The most obvious handicap of the child from the slums, for example, who takes a standard intelligence test, is that he is probably not familiar with the ideas and objects to which the test refers. If, for example, the child is asked, "Which word is most out of place here?" then given the list, "piano, violin, flute, tape recorder" -- he might be stumped because he has never seen a piano, or a violin, or a flute, or a tape recorder. Adrian Dove, a Negro sociologist, devised an intelligence test using the same type of questions with a content familiar to the slum child. He asks, for example, "Which word is most out of place here? (a) splib, (b) blood, (c) grey, (d) spook, (e) black." The white child from a suburban

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9 Concurrent with this report the Research Department of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto is preparing a report on the selection of a measure of intelligence for the New Canadian Study.

home would be as stumped by this question as might the ghetto child be by the first question (Globe & Mail, July 2, 1968). A culture-fair test, presumably, would refer only to the sort of things both children find familiar.

But the problem is that children learn more than content from their environment: they also learn what to do with that content, a whole way of thinking and looking at the world. So psychologists went another step, and developed "non-verbal" tests, which did not test language facility, but relied entirely on spatial figures and perception. And indeed, the minority groups and children of the poor who had fared poorly on the verbal tests, did better on the non-verbal tests (Anastasi, 1953). Unfortunately, once they had reduced the tests to skills and knowledge which were common to more than one culture, educators asked an embarrassing question: what use are the results? What do they predict? And the answer seems to be, that they do not test very much that is useful to the teacher (Anastasi, 1961, p. 258). For the teacher wants to know how successful the child is going to be in the school system; she is not interested in the skills he has developed which he cannot use in school at all. And success in school requires verbal ability.

This is not to say, of course, that all intelligence tests are utterly useless for any purpose at all. Rather, intelligence tests are like any other test: they give some indication of what the individual has learned, of how much knowledge and how many skills he has developed within a specific area of experience. Properly used, any test, whether verbal or non-verbal, culture-fair or not, charts the progress of a child in learning the specific skills that the test attempts to measure.

At Spring Grove School in England, where large numbers of immigrant children were introduced to the British education system, non-verbal I.Q. tests (the Goodenough and Raven tests) were applied to children to give some

indication of what progress they had made over a period of time: in spite of the fact that the test was non-verbal, the mean scores of the Goodenough test rose significantly as the children became more proficient at English (Burgin & Edson, 1967, pp. 70-71). It seems that even non-verbal tests have a cultural bias: what the rising scores indicated was that these children were picking up the skills of a new culture.

The search for culture-fair intelligence tests has provided further evidence that the culture in which a child is raised influences more than his values and attitudes, and provides him with more than the content of his experiences. Culture, the learned techniques of meeting needs, influences the development of the most basic of mental and intellectual skills in the child. The child whose whole environment has provided him with techniques for meeting needs in the slums, or in an economically poor ethnic community, is not stupid. He may be very smart indeed, very capable of living successfully in that environment. But within the school system, if he has never learned the verbal and intellectual skills of our affluent, industrial society, he is handicapped from the first moment that he sees a teacher. And if he can't graduate from the school system with good marks then he has little chance of surpassing his father socially; he will not be upwardly mobile.

Language Learning Only

A recent study of social agencies in Toronto -- including the School Board -- revealed that 80% of all the personnel interviewed from these agencies, at all levels, believed that immigrants should learn the English language and the Canadian way of life quickly and efficiently, so that they could get better jobs and make better use of the facilities offered by such agencies (Elliott, 1967, p. 73). The question in the minds of these administrators and staff members was, why can't immigrants and their children learn to speak English?

What stands in their way, especially when there are programmes available to teach them? It is assumed that once he has learned to speak English the immigrant will be on an equal footing with any other Canadian.

But language learning is not as simple as that. Language, we have already noted, is learned naturally by the child within the environment he grows up in, his family and society. The native language of the child is part of the culture he learns, and it is linked intricately with his whole thought process. In fact, there is strong medical evidence of a crucial development of the brain which occurs during the learning of the native language. Dr. Wilder Penfield (1954, 1964) located a portion of the brain which is developed by the child up to about age 12. Whatever language, one or more than one at a time, that the child learns in a natural way (from simply hearing the language spoken around him, imitating, and practising it in daily use) -- that language facility is imprinted on a limited part of the brain. Apparently, once this portion of the cortex has been developed, a pattern is set which can no longer be easily altered: language learning for the youth or adult is not readily learned in the way a child naturally picks up language.

Other research indicates that while the child learns language readily in the slow, but natural, manner of every-day living, the adult <u>can</u> learn a second language in a classroom, through a concentrated course, more readily than a child (Ausubel, 1964). And it is through concentrated courses, not in his natural environment, that the immigrant and his child are expected to pick up English. At home and in his neighbourhood, the child probably hears and speaks his native language; at school, he must learn English -- not for the obvious purpose of coping with a familiar environment, not for the management of his daily living, but for vague and distant purposes to which he is told he should subscribe.

In other words, once the child moves out of a natural language-learning process, into the classroom, the question of motivation arises: he will not learn to speak English unless he wants to learn. And he will not want to learn unless he can find a good reason. Gardner (1966) found that among students of French in the English-speaking community of Montreal, the most successful students, those with the best command of the French language, were those who admired the French-Canadian culture, wanted to make friends with French-Canadians, and valued the integration and two-way contact between the two ways of life. These students tended to do better than those who simply saw the language as an instrument to success in school and business. And the students who wanted to integrate with the French-Canadian culture were more likely to be students whose families valued the French-Canadian culture. This suggests that simply telling a child, or even an adult, that he must learn English in order to get a good job, or in order to succeed in school, will not provide the motivation he needs. Motivation arises from a wide and complex variety of attitudes, and attitudes are learned in the home and neighbourhood, as part of a culture.

Moreover, the attempts of a teacher to motivate his students in the classroom, by using the rewards and punishments of the classroom itself, may ultimately do more harm than good. One widely cited study (Rosenthal, 1968) showed that teachers could be led into "self-fulfilling" expectations about their pupils: a group of teachers who were told by psychologists that certain pupils could be expected to do well, found that these pupils did indeed improve considerably by the end of the year -- although they had actually been chosen quite at random. Some doubts have been thrown on the validity of this study (Case, 1968) -- it is by no means certain that the study proves that teachers can greatly influence the success of children when they simply

expect them to succeed -- but the study does illustrate how little is known about the subtle effects of the teacher's attitudes to her pupils on their success. What effects do the rewards and punishments, even the facial expressions and tone of voice, that a teacher metes out to her students, actually have on the learning of the students?

Learning the Native Language

Assuming that a child is "motivated" to learn English, or any second language, the context in which it is taught still influences his learning. That is, the language is learned in a specific environment -- most likely, a classroom. What he learns is not the integral part of the life experience that his native language was.

Psychologists now distinguish two kinds of bilinguals: "compound" bilinguals, who have learned a second language by associating each word of the new language with a word in the native language; and "coordinate" bilinguals, who have learned each language in a separate situation, learning the meaning of the words in the second language independently of the native language (Earle, 1967). Actually it is doubtful that anyone is a completely "compound" or "complex" bilingual -- for a second language, unless it is learned in a bilingual home from childhood, is always learned in a different situation from the native language. But it has been found that the more distinctly separate were the learning situations, the more likely is the bilingual to associate different meanings with the words which translate from one language to the other -- different emotional responses, and different perspectives (Lambert, Havelka,and Crosby, 1958).

Hence, the child who speaks Portuguese at home and English at school is a "coordinate" bilingual. He learns English at school, in order to succeed at school. This is important, because a total language, with

all its grammatical rules and variations of pronunciations, its associations of words with emotional responses, etc., speaks for a culture, a way of life. Soviet linguistics today have developed what they call the "micro-language," a sort of partial language for students who need a foreign language only for specific purposes. In teaching medical students to read English medical texts, for example, they found they had to teach only a very limited number of grammatical rules and an equally limited vocabulary -- the "micro-language" of medical texts (Artemov, 1967). The micro-language is not the total language of a complete culture, but one technique, a tool, for communicating and thinking through a specific area of learning. The language an immigrant child learns at school is necessarily limited, also. It is the means by which he learns to cope with the environment of the school.

This may be the reason why American educators have often found it difficult, and even destructive, to persuade immigrant children, Spanish-speaking Americans, and deprived children, to speak standard English as long as learning to speak English means learning <u>not</u> to speak the native language; learning English is a sacrifice more than a gain (Boyer, 1965). The child who gives up his native tongue gives up his native culture, his contact with his family and his past, his skill and power over the environment he has always known. And what the child gains is only a micro-language and a micro-culture: the language and culture of the school itself.

As early as 1922, some American educators were ready to admit that immigrant children who did not speak English at home should not be discouraged from speaking their native tongue. In that year, the New York Board of Education introduced the Italian language to its curriculum, so that Italian children could learn advanced skills in their own language. Leonard Covello commented on the advantages of the programme after it had been in effect for twenty years:

> "It made provision of a medium of communication in the home, strengthening home ties. It helped mitigate the Italo-American sense of inferiority by gaining for the Italian student and Italian group, social and ethnic status and probably a decrease in discrimination through the concept of cultural worth and prestige of Italian civilization."
>
> (Covello, 1967, p. 428)

Today, few school systems in either the United States or Canada have foreign language courses geared to the needs of students who speak those languages at home (Cordasco, 1968). Yet there are some indications that not only does such a programme aid the student in his cultural adjustment, but it even helps him in his learning of English. Kaufman (1968), for example, found that Spanish-speaking children who were taught reading skills in Spanish often improved their reading skills in English at the same time, more readily than Spanish-speaking children who were given instruction only in English.

Moreover, it has been suggested that for children who speak a dialect of English, standard English will be more readily learned if the children are first encouraged to use their own dialect creatively and fluently -- otherwise, they will be discouraged from speaking, and learning language skills, at all (Creswell, Steward, Riessman & Loban, 1966).

One study seems to contradict this contention. A group of Negro children from deprived homes in an American city were taught two lessons, and tested on their knowledge at the end of each lesson. One lesson was taught in their dialect, the other in standard English. The children appeared to learn more from the lesson taught in standard English than from the other lesson (Keislar & Stern, 1968). However, the authors themselves pointed out that other factors might have interfered with the results of their experiment.

The experiment, after all, used one isolated lesson in dialect: these children may never have been encouraged to speak dialect in the school before.

There is little evidence that learning skills in the native language in any way hinders learning a second language. Encouraging pride in the language and culture with which a child lives every day need not mean teaching him only in that language, or even teaching him anything academic in his native language except the language skills themselves. Leonard Covello's programme in the Italian community in Harlem included Italian boys' clubs, Italian parent-teacher's associations, an Italian-language newspaper, courses in Italian language and history, and Italian cultural events (Covello, 1967, pp. 421 ff.). But his students still took most of their lessons in English. There are some indications (Lambert, 1963, p. 120) that it is when neither the native language nor the second language is over-used or over-emphasized, and when both languages are allowed to interact within the same programme, that the greatest amount of learning takes place in both languages.

Teaching the child effectively in his native tongue requires using native-speaking teachers wherever possible. Covello made extensive use of Italian-American teachers in his programmes, (p. 429), and one of the principles which emerge from two summer programmes at Bowdoin College in the United States in 1961 and 1962 was that "the ideal teacher is a person whose very name unmistakably identifies him as a member of the same ethnic group" (Brault, 1964, p. 68). But Brault also notes that teachers of the same ethnic background as their students are useful <u>only</u> in programmes where the native language and culture are actually taught and encouraged, and <u>only</u> when the teacher himself is secure and proud in his dual identity. That is a tall order. And it is questionable whether such a programme could be easily adapted to a multi-ethnic community such as might be found in Toronto. Some suggestions about this will be made in the next chapter.

Culture, Intelligence and the Mother Tongue Dialect

The native language of the immigrant child in a Toronto school is likely, in many cases, to be a specific dialect of a language other than English -- a dialect which is part of a culture of poverty or pre-industrial society. The literature on the "culturally deprived" in the United States is divided over the question of what to do about "bad English," the dialect of children from an environment of poverty. Some educators, such as those cited a few pages back, hold that these children should be encouraged to use their own dialect in the school as well as in the home, to practise using the language with which they are familiar. But such an approach has a limited usefulness, for as Bernstein notes (see Fantini & Weinstein, 1968, pp. 47 ff.) the dialect of a culture of poverty represents techniques of the mind which are not suited to the kind of learning that the school now requires.

The problem is compounded in the case of many New Canadian children who speak a dialect of a language other than English. To this compound problem of the mother tongue dialect, two alternative approaches have been suggested.

The first approach is represented by the programme developed by Bereiter and Engelman for teaching deprived children from American slums in the preschool (Bereiter & Engelman, 1966). Bereiter is currently at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, where he is trying out some of his methods on immigrant children in Toronto. Bereiter maintains, with Bernstein, that the culture and dialect of children who live in an environment of poverty, do not teach these children the mental skills they need to succeed in school. The aim of the programme is to teach children the language skills they need to succeed at the tasks considered most important by the school system today (pp. 5-6) -- before they even start Grade 1. If that aim

is attained, then presumably more children from poor families and immigrant families will go further in school, get better jobs, and become upwardly mobile. An increasing proportion of the children of people who "get less" now, will thus get more in the future.

But the question remains, are the skills now taught in the schools of Canada the only skills useful in our industrial society? Are all the skills of people who now "get less," necessarily useful only in an environment of poverty, an Indian reservation, or a southern European village? Some educators today are beginning to have doubts. Psychologists have identified at least eight general types of talent, each of which includes many specific talents, not covered by any of the standard intelligence tests used in our schools. It has been estimated that "typical intelligence tests cover only a sub-set of about eight specific talents or about 1/10th of those known" -- and the schools do not call for much more (Taylor, 1968, p. 84). Given the results of the study by Lesser and his colleagues (Stodolsky & Lesser, 1967) -- that different ethnic groups tend to exhibit different predominant talents -- the second approach might be to provide an environment in which a wider variety of talents could be encouraged.

But if the talents of the children from an environment of poverty are to be encouraged, what language should they be taught? Perhaps the dialect of the English-speaking poor can be encouraged and developed as men like Riessman suggest, along with the talents of creativity which go with it. But the dialect of a southern Italian is of little use in Canadian society. If the immigrant child from a disadvantaged home is not to learn standard English in a programme like Bereiter's, what language should he learn, and how? There is little, if any, research into the problem of teaching English to people with a non-standard dialect of another language.

However, research such as Kaufman's (1968) and programmes such as Covello's (1967) do indicate that the first step in successfully teaching such children to speak the standard English dialect, would be to teach them the standard dialect of their native tongue.

THE EDUCATION OF NEW CANADIANS -- METHODS, PROGRAMMES AND REFORMS

Educators in Canada, the United States, Britain, and every country with significant numbers of immigrants or minority groups have been struggling with the problem of educating the children from ethnic minorities and deprived areas for decades. A wide variety of strategies and methods have been proposed and attempted. Generally, they fall into three categories:

(1) Methods of teaching language and other skills to the individual child, aimed at rehabilitating the child so that he will be more likely to succeed in the existing school system, and so that as adults, more of these children will be upwardly mobile.

(2) Programmes of education in an ethnic community or depressed area, aimed at integrating the total community more fully with the larger society, and integrating children with their community.

(3) Reforms of the education system itself, to meet the needs of a wider variety of people, including both children from minority cultures and many children now considered "privileged."

The greatest bulk of the literature on educating immigrants and the children of the poor, and most of the methods that have been actually tried, fall into the first category. There have been literally hundreds of little articles, scattered in dozens of journals and books, describing piecemeal techniques for dealing with specific problems -- problems in teaching English as a second language, in teaching deprived children, in maintaining discipline in a downtown school, and so forth. Instead of discussing in detail a large number of articles, which make up a patchwork of specific proposals with little overall plan, this paper limits itself to two systematic packages of methods. These packages clearly demonstrated two different points of view. Within

These packages clearly demonstrate two different points of view. Within each of these packages, a limited number of specific techniques are used. In the special bibliography at the end of this chapter, one section will provide references to these and other such packages, and list some of the articles on techniques for dealing with specific problems. Although the approaches discussed under this first heading are more or less integrated programmes, they are included under the heading "methods" because they do not involve any re-assessment of the standard curriculum or of the aims of the school system.

The label "programme" is reserved for the second category, under which fall a more limited number of books and articles. Interestingly enough, the most useful literature on community-centred schools, with concrete suggestions arising from programmes that were put into operation, was written 20 or 30 years ago. The idea of the community-centred school has received a great deal of attention in recent educational and popular journals, but most such articles go little further than to say that community schools are a good idea, and to suggest vaguely how they might be run. The special bibliography includes a section containing references to some such articles.

The third category is comprised largely of negative writings which criticize present practices. There is value in discussing the exceptions, positive reforms which were evolved as responses to some of the problems of educating the children of cultural minorities. A few of the more thoughtful but primarily negative articles can be found in a section of the special bibliography.

1. Teaching Methods and Techniques

The primary emphasis in most proposals for dealing with the special problems of minority children in the schools -- both immigrant children and

children of the deprived -- is on teaching English. Language is the most obvious difficulty of foreign-born adults in adjusting to their new home, and it is at least as obvious a difficulty for foreign-born children in the schools. Moreover, it is because of language that the child from a deprived home is most obviously handicapped in school: if he cannot master the verbal techniques of the education system, and the intellectual techniques that go with it, he will not go far in school.

(a) Teaching English to Immigrant Children

A good example of a school which has used special English language classes as a coping mechanism to help immigrant children adjust to the normal curriculum, is Spring Grove School in England. While there may well be other programmes at least as well-conceived, this report is necessarily limited to programmes which have been described in writings which were published. The headmaster and assistant headmaster of Spring Grove have written a book describing the way that the school adjusted to the wave of immigrants to England which started in the 1950's (Burgin & Edson, 1967). It is told as a success story, by the people most obviously responsible for the programme -- and for that reason, most obviously needing to believe in their own success. Although the programme evolved out of trial and error, it does represent a rare phenomenon: a description of a complete programme in a school with children from many ethnic groups. It illustrates both the values and the limitations of a language-centred programme for immigrants within a school with a standard curriculum.

Spring Grove is virtually a "school within a school": immigrant children are grouped into special classes, through which they progress until they are ready to be "fed into" the regular classes of English children. The classes are divided roughly along two dimensions -- age, and facility with

English. There are, for example, three beginners' classes, for five to seven year olds, for seven to eleven year olds, for eleven to fifteen year olds. Each beginners' class then moves up into a progress class, and then to an advanced transfer class. Both primary and secondary students are taught at Spring Grove, the primary students being "fed into" the regular primary school at Spring Grove and the secondary students being "fed into" a secondary school nearby (p. 35).

The school relies on the direct method of teaching English. The children hear nothing but English from their teachers, and once they have progressed past the beginners' class, any child heard speaking a language other than English in class is threatened with demotion (p. 33). Although immigrant teachers are being used, their main function is as translators for parents, and aids to teachers in understanding the special problems of their students in learning English (p. 103). From the perspective of a direct approach to teaching English to children with a variety of native languages, the fact that these children continue to speak their native tongues at home appears as a persistent nuisance (p. 78).

Of course, the children do not spend all day learning nothing but the English language; they are taught other subjects as well, by teachers who attempt throughout to encourage the use of better English. In the beginning classes, conversation is the main focus. Everyday incidents of the children are discussed, games, stories, and dialogues are encouraged, and play acting and drama are employed. Later, reading and writing will be taught. Throughout every lesson in every subject, and even during meals and other parts of the school routine, vocabulary is built up consciously by the teachers (p. 43).

Within this programme, a variety of devices and tricks of the trade are used -- boxes of miscellaneous objects to build vocabulary, wall maps and charts, toy clocks, outings to farms and factories (pp. 44 ff.). In addition, the school uses technical aids, from flash cards and scale models to films and film strips. A language laboratory was installed, and although the lab itself proved inefficient, wide use is made of tapes (pp. 60 ff.).

The values of the Spring Grove programme, as Burgin and Edson see it, are manifest. In the first place, the immigrant children who pass through that school do learn to speak, read and write English, and are able to fit into a normal classroom without holding that class back or creating unusual problems for the teacher. Moreover, some of these immigrant children attain success in the school system, and upward mobility. Children at the school seem to be totally free of prejudice or colour-consciousness, and some of the native-born English children seem to have gained new knowledge from their contact with children from foreign cultures.

The limitations of the approach can be seen by re-examining its virtues. Burgin and Edson are proud of four or five children from Spring Grove who eventually will be able to enter Grammar school. But they caution that academic success of this order is not to be expected from all immigrant children (p. 74). One reviewer comments that this amounts to "accepting second-class education for the children of what are assumed to be second-class industrial citizens" (Lazerson, 1968). And indeed, Burgin and Edson are aware that their immigrant children come from families which live in an environment of poverty. Most of their fathers are working as unskilled labourers, only a few at skilled labour in the textile industry. And many work night shifts -- so many that some rooms in the community are let to two people, one of whom sleeps in the room by day and the other by night (p. 5). Obviously, this is another nuisance in the background of the children.

Similarly, the lack of prejudice among the children has its limitations. The authors say, "...we have found that animosity usually arises only when the prejudices of parents and other adults make themselves felt...." (p. 99). While the children have not learned to hate in school, there are still adults around to teach them, and the community outside is only marginally affected by the multi-racial school within. As for the families of the immigrant children themselves, the extent of actual contact and involvement in the programme at the school is minimal, limited to occasional visits by a mother to inquire about the progress of her child, or a few parents who attend Christmas festivals (p. 25).

But then, how much can the school do for a child, when his most important interests and abilities have already been developed in the home, before he crosses the threshold of a school? The child must learn reading, writing, arithmetic, and all that follows in school; yet the immigrant child and the child from an environment of poverty, come ill-equipped with the most basic skills they need to learn such things. If the children at Spring Grove School do not get as far in school as other children do, perhaps the time to rehabilitate them is before they enter first grade.

(b) Teaching Verbal Skills to Preschool Children

Much debate is taking place in the United States and in Canada regarding what to do with the preschool child from a deprived home. The parties to the debate are agreed on one thing: that the best time to correct the problems that stand in the way of a child's successful education and upward mobility is before he enters school, perhaps before kindergarten (Edwards, 1968). The debate proceeds over what the problems are and how they should be tackled. Of what are deprived children most deprived -- social and emotional stability, or cognitive skills? Can schools and teachers make up for this deprivation, and if so, how?

Probably the most controversial method -- and the most systematically prescribed for teaching deprive preschoolers -- is that of Bereiter and Engelman. Their method is aimed directly and exclusively at developing in young children the specific verbal and intellectual skills required for success in school. They are explicit that their programme is based on a judgement of priorities: whatever else deprived children are deprived of, it is their lack of verbal and intellectual ability, or school-oriented skills, that holds them back most. Everything else, as far as the teacher is concerned, is secondary (Bereiter & Engelman, 1966, pp. 24-43). The author's concern is not with emotions or social relations, but with "thought," and not with knowledge but with skills. Hence they are not concerned with pronunciation, grammatical correctness, or idiomatic expressions, but solely with the logic of language, with the specific words and concepts necessary for abstract thought. As Bereiter says:

> "It has not bothered us so much that a child may not know the word sheep as that he does not know the word not, for while in the former case a child might encounter an occasional difficulty, in the latter case he is deprived of one of the most powerful logical tools our language provides -- a tool, moreover, which it is assumed in school work that a child possesses from the very beginning."
>
> (Bereiter, 1966, p. 51)

To provide the children with the language skills that Bereiter believes they need to succeed in school, Bereiter and Engelman have developed a programme of instruction calling for about 15 or 20 minutes of concentrated instruction per day. About five children at a time are put through a fast-paced lesson calling for unison responses. Concepts are presented one at a time, the most simple concepts first. New concepts are not presented until the latest one has been mastered. Teachers are specially trained to be comfortable with the pace and the method, to be sensitive to children who are

not learning, and to reinforce learning with praise while not punishing or scorning the child who does not give a correct answer (Bereiter & Engelman, 1966 and 1968). It should be noted that aside from these concentrated periods of instruction, the method does not preclude play periods, or other periods aimed at developing the child in other ways.

The above programme has been attacked for its methods, which have been called totalitarian (Davis, 1968), and which have been said to encourage more parroting of responses to a teacher's tone of voice (Holt, 1968). Bereiter and Engleman have also been criticized for rushing into print a "semi-promotional publication," pushing their method on the basis of inadequate follow-up and proof of its effectiveness (Friedlander, 1968). But the authors did provide what evidence they had at the time, test results which showed they had brought their original test class up to a normal I.Q. rating and language ability score, to a grade two level in arithmetic, and to the first grade level in reading (1966, p. 63). And the follow-up on these children is still continuing.

Bereiter is now understood to be working on the application of similar methods of teaching immigrant children the linguistic and conceptual skills they will need in the Canadian school system. Such an approach may prove to be successful in rehabilitating the individual child -- that is of providing him, before he enters school, with the skills and tools (i.e. language) he needs to succeed. Presumably, once he has passed through Bereiter's programme the immigrant child would not require any further special attention to his language and intellectual abilities, above what other children receive. With respect to providing these tools to as many children as possible, the only theoretical drawback of such a programme would be that it would not reach children who are already too old or children who immigrate at an older age.

But verbal skills are not the only skills a child can learn, and the child as a master of the skills of the school is not the whole child. Critics of Bereiter and Engelman invariably complain that their method does not provide for the full development of the whole child, (e.g., Edwards, 1968). And indeed, any programme that limited itself to their methods alone would be ignoring important aspects of the emotional and social life of the child.

The emotional and social life of the child is not lived in a vacuum; the individual child cannot be divorced from his family, his community, the daily life he lives. As Edward Fagan puts it,

> "Analogically a disadvantaged student who enters a classroom is more than an individual. His values, his behavior, his goals are at least partially imprinted by his group."
>
> (Fagan, 1968, pp. 396-397)

Any programme which is aimed solely at rehabilitating the individual child, without involving the family, the community, the culture in which he lives, will be very limited in the impact it has on the local community; and will succeed only at a high cost to the individual and his community. For the individual who is socially mobile loses his roots, and the community loses its leaders. (See the section, "Culture Conflict in the School System" and "Learning the Native Language" in the preceeding two chapters.)

2. A Programme in a Community-Centred School

In the United States, during the Depression and the Second World War, there was a great deal of interest in the idea of the community-centred school. Scattered across the country were a few schools which actually put the idea into practice. The programmes differed, of course, from school to school and from community to community, (see Everett, 1938). But one such

programme, which evolved over more than twenty years, from about 1925 to the end of the War, dealt specifically with ethnic minorities and immigrants in a diverse ethnic community -- the programme at Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem, under the leadership of Leonard Covello.[10]

Covello makes it plain that the programme of his community school was aimed, not just at the upward mobility of a few individaul children through graduation from school, but at the education and improvement of a total community of adults and children; and that the ultimate goal for the ethnic community was not assimilation into the dominant American culture, but integration, an interplay between the American culture and the native cultures of newcomers (1967, pp. 412-413). Although the community served by Benjamin Franklin was predominantly Italian when Covello first started his work, large numbers of Puerto Ricans, Negroes, and other groups moved into the area, until a survey of the student body "showed that it included thirty-four different nationalities" (1958, p. 185). In this respect, the school had a population much like that of a multi-ethnic school in Toronto.

The first task of the educator, in a plan such as Covello's is to educate himself -- to learn what he can of the cultural backgrounds of the children in his school (1967, p. 419). Ideally, this means learning the language of the children as well. While every teacher at Benjamin Franklin did not know every language spoken in the community, there were always teachers available to speak to the students and their parents in their native languages, and to teach them the skills of their own languages as well as English (1967, p. 428; 1958, p. 196). And what was at least as important as the matter of language, there were teachers in the school who understood the background

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10 Covello wrote two books, from which this description of his programme is taken: The Social Background of the Italo-American School Child (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), and The Heart is the Teacher (New York: McGraw-Hill 1958) his autobiography.

of their students as more than individuals -- the family mores, the attitudes of parents, the social needs which are met in specific ways learned in another environment.

The teaching of English was an important aspect of Covello's programme. The English language was taught to immigrant children and senior high school students were used, along with experts, in a programme of English classes for adults (1967, p. 425). The English language classes paralleled classes in Italian, as well as Spanish and other languages (1967, p. 428). Side by side with his increased facility with the English language, and familiarity with the American culture, the immigrant child learned skills in his native language and pride in his mother culture. Covello recognized, as do many modern educators, that culture conflict is one of the major causes of delinquency among inner-city youths. (See, for example, Sollenberger, 1968, pp. 21-22.) When the culture, the values and way of life of his family are rejected and considered alien and undesirable by the broader society and the school, the reaction of the adolescent is to rebel against both cultures. Hence, Covello sought to have the school cooperate with the families of its students, to instill in them pride and a positive identity with their roots (1958, p. 195).

To this end, Benjamin Franklin had a wide range of activities outside the academic curriculum, as well as additions and modifications within the classroom. Within the academic curriculum were:

(a) Special English classes;

(b) classes in Italian and Spanish and other languages native to the students;

(c) senior courses in English literature which focused on contemporary social problems; included were such writers as Upton Sinclair, Richard Wright, and various ethnic authors;

(d) social studies classes with a focus on social problems familiar in the daily lives of the people of Harlem; students were encouraged, among other things, to gather demographic data, to take surveys of the ethnic composition of the area, of the types of housing, sizes of families, types of business concerns, etc.

Other modifications of the school programme included:

(a) a guidance programme built on full knowledge of the family and culture of the student, including the language spoken at home, the education and background of the parents, and the attitudes and mores of the family; home visits by teachers who spoke the language of the family were part of this programme;

(b) a shorter school day to allow youths more time for part-time work, thus meeting the need of the youths for respect as working members of their own families, and cooperating with the family's cultural values;

(c) a placement service in the school to help youths find part-time and summer jobs;

(d) a night set aside each week by the principal and other teachers for consultation among themselves and for meeting with parents and members of the community.

Outside the standard curriculum, to bring the school closer to the community as a whole, there were:

(a) ethnic clubs for the students, in which, for example, Italian boys spoke Italian and studied Italian history and the problems of the Italian immigrant, while learning about and meeting American customs and history;

(b) ethnic newspapers, publishing in both English and the native language;

(c) ethnic parent-teachers' associations federated into a general association for the whole school and community;

(d) ethnic variety nights, art displays, and cultural programmes aimed at fostering pride on the part of the immigrant and understanding on the part of the other Americans;

(e) classes in English and Citizenship, for adults, taught at a community centre by high school seniors;

(f) social work carried on in churches and community centres.

To coordinate such a programme, the school had a natural and potent bond with the community -- the students were a direct link with their families and the community. But an organized initiative from the school required ties with other agencies. Hence, an association was formed with sub-committees of representatives of civic and social agencies, including business groups, labour organizations, social agencies, the student body and the parents' associations (Covello, 1958, p. 195). Out of this Community Advisory Council and its sub-committees, arose many projects involving co-operative efforts of the whole community:

(a) a Housing Committee, through the raising of funds and pressure on various levels of government, brought about the construction of a housing project for over 1,300 families;

(b) students organized for the construction of a new school building, and on the basis of their own research, persuaded Mayor LaGuardia of the feasibility of a desirable site for the new building;

(c) another committee found a landowner who was willing to lend his property to be used as a playground, and found money and equipment to set it up;

(d) community centres and extra classroom space were provided by renting out stores in the area; store-front schools were rebuilt and repainted by students and dropouts;

(e) a neighbourhood newspaper was established, the East Harlem News, the staff recruited from teachers, students, and parents; it had an Italian and a Spanish section, published local news and acted as a forum for discussion of community problems.

(The above picture of the programme at Benjamin Franklin is drawn from Covello, 1967, Chapter 12; and 1958, Chapters 23 and 30.)

In addition, the school cooperated with the Teachers' College of Columbia University and the School of Education in New York University, in a teacher-training programme which was eventually extended into the summer months. Student teachers received direct experience at Benjamin Franklin

during the school year, and gave assistance for a summer programme in the community. Dr. Covello lectured at the university on the social and cultural backgrounds of immigrant children (1958, p. 235).

Each aspect of this programme was coordinated with every other aspect. For example, the demographic data collected by social studies students was part of their participation in the broader community effort. The students gained experience and learned skills. The data was transferred by the art class to detailed maps of the community. The maps were used by the school in planning its academic programme and by the Council for its work. Students gathered information on health and hygiene in the area, which was used in a campaign to improve sanitation (1958, pp. 255 ff.).

The academic curriculum of the school was modified to suit the community orientation of the school; but it was not watered down. Covello strongly resisted pressure to turn Benjamin Franklin into a vocational school, or to water down the academic standards:

> "In fact, a survey based on a questionnaire done by the mathematics department showed that many of our students wanted to feel they could continue on to college and would not have voluntarily accepted a modified course."
>
> (Covello, 1958, p. 203)

Students who were involved themselves, along with their families in a co-operative effort centred on the school and who felt responsible for the actual decision about the standards of their school, had no desire to lower these standards. The students and their families were asked what they wanted to do, and if they needed remedial help to accomplish it, the help was there (1958, p. 204).

What happened to Benjamin Franklin High School, and why was the project, which originated there forgotten? Immigrant quotas were applied in

the United States during the twenties, and the immigrant population of the area dwindled after the War. Minority groups still lived in the area, but they were not considered immigrants. Covello, like all good principals, was promoted. And only recently have American educators begun to re-examine the parallel between the problems of immigrants and the problems of all minority cultures (Cordasco, 1968). Today, the idea of the community school is being revived as a possible solution to the problems of the modern urban ghetto in the United States. (See special bibliography for this Chapter.)

3. Reforms: The Need-Meeting Curriculum

The methods and programmes discussed under the first category are aimed at rehabilitating the individual child, at making up for deficiencies so that more children will succeed in the existing school system. They are additions to an existing programme -- English classes to prepare the children of cultural minorities to enter the system, or preschool programmes to rehabilitate the child before he gets to school. The limitations of their effects have already been noted. Under the second category, of the community-centred programme, the focus is still on rehabilitating the child, and most of the innovations are additions to the standard curriculum; but the child is recognized as more than an individual, and an effort is made to involve a whole community in changing its environment.

As more and more methods and programmes are added to the existing curriculum to feed more and more minority groups into it, the suspicion is raised that perhaps the curriculum itself should be rehabilitated. In order to reach his students in an ethnic community, Leonard Covello found that he had to reach into the community itself. In order to mobilize a community to change its environment so as to meet real and present needs (housing, sanitation,

recreation areas), Covello found that he had to modify the content of some Franklin. The curriculum was at least partially altered, the whole approach changed, for his students were directly involved in projects which concerned them and their community: they went out and gathered statistics on the conditions in the area, which were then put to use in actually changing those conditions.

The key to the success of Covello's community school was its relevance to the lives of its students. The theme that was most common among advocates of the community-centred school thirty years ago was that the school was most effective when it sought to cooperate with its students, as part of a community, in meeting felt needs. Among the principles cited by Samuel Everett in his anthology of essays on the community school, published in 1938, were the following:

> "All life is educative; education requires participation; adults and children have fundamental common purposes in both work and play; the curriculum should receive its social orientation from major problems and areas of community living."
>
> (Everett, 1938, pp. 435 ff.)

The accomplishment of the early community-centred schools have been all but quickly forgotten. Thirty years later, advocates of curriculum reform are still suggesting that Everett's principles have not been widely applied:

> "Man is born with basic needs, psychological and emotional, and his life is a series of activities aimed at satisfying these needs. Cognitive needs are not basic and become needs only when they can be utilized to satisfy basic ones. They are, then, the tools with which one attempts to satisfy one's physical and emotional needs. Educational programs must be developed to reverse the current practice and to determine that there is a connection between what the child <u>needs</u> to know and what he is actually taught."
>
> (Fantini and Weinstein, 1968, p. 364)

In recent years, the controversy in the United States over the education of cultural minorities, especially the children of the Negro ghettos in the cities, has produced many advocates of radical reform in the school system. For the most part, based on a sense of outrage at the conditions in many inner-city schools and of dissatisfaction with present teaching practices, curricula, etc., the writings of these reformers consist of negative criticism. Where there are positive suggestions, these tend to be specific responses to particular practices that have outraged the authors. An exception, however, is a new book by Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein,[11] which draws together the complaints of modern reformers into an integrated programme based on practices which have been tried, and which worked.

The key to these authors' approach is in the passage cited above: skills and knowledge of any kind are tools people use to meet needs. The needs of a child are his concerns -- not his "interests" but his concerns. To illustrate the difference between a child's interests and the concerns that underlie some of his interests, the authors tell of one teacher who found that her class was very interested in evaporation. Questioning of the children revealed that,

> "It wasn't so much evaporation which intrigued the class as it was a concern for change, permanence, and absence. As the children phased it, 'If water can disappear, can we?'"
>
> (Fantini and Weinstein, 1968, p. 366)

A child's concerns are immediate; they are not the needs he will have twenty years from now to have a good job, but needs he has today, for emotional satisfaction, for power over his environment, for rewarding association with other people. The child himself feels these needs, they are his motivation, and he will welcome any tools to help him meet them.

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11 Fantini and Weinstein, The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education. (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

Therefore, the model the authors provide for developing a curriculum is a model on which the individual teacher can base his own curriculum for a particular class. (This model attended to the individual learner yet it does seem to assume that the students and teacher speak the same language.) And the first thing the teacher must do is learn about that class: what is their economic status, their cultural background, what kind of homes do they come from? This is step one in the authors' general outline of the process of developing the curriculum (pp. 367 ff.). Specific methods and examples will be discussed after the general outline has been summarized.

Step two: Based on his knowledge of children's background, the teacher can now look for cues which will reveal their emotional concerns and needs. If a child feels the need for more power over his own life and environment, if he feels powerless, he might appear apathetic ("It's no use....") or he might fantasize ("I'm Hercules; I can do anything."). Similarly, he might reveal other needs through comments and other cues.

Step three: How are the needs of these children related to their background? The disadvantaged child who feels powerless may be defeated by the failure he sees all around him, while a more privileged child may also feel powerless because he has been over-protected by his family.

Step four: Now that the needs of the children have been diagnosed and explained, the teacher can ask, what should the child be able to do in order to fill his needs? If, for example, a child felt more powerful than he does now, what would he do that he isn't doing now? What behaviour would show that he felt more powerful? What particular problems arising from his particular environment would he tackle and in what way?

Step five: To relate the needs of the children to the skills to be taught, a programme of some sort is needed. The authors list three types of organizers for such a programme:

(a) Generalizations -- themes around which the content of the programme can be structured. Subject matter is relevant to the student when it has an idea or principle which tells him something about his own life. If the facts in a social studies course, or the novels in a literature course, illustrate principles that help the child understand and control his own life, then knowledge is related to his own needs. The authors' example of such a theme is: "...the way we see ourselves is learned; what we learn about ourselves depends on where we live and whom we live with; what we learn may be inaccurate."

(b) Procedural organizers -- skills and strategies for meeting needs and solving problems. Children can learn to analyze a problem, to develop possible strategies for coping with a situation, to try these out.

(c) Questions asked by the teacher and learners can organize instruction.

Step six: With the help of the class, the teacher can now decide on an appropriate content for a lesson. The authors state:

> "That content which is most closely connected to the learner's reality will have the best possibility for engaging the learner...."
>
> (Fantini and Weinstein, 1968, p. 371)

Hence the best content to start with when the teacher first faces his class is the content the child brings with him -- what he knows, what he talks about, what he can teach the teacher. Later this content can be related to less familiar content, and to academic subjects. The most basic principles of biology or the most abstract theories of philosophy can be relevant, if they are organized around a relevant theme, or if they fit into a strategy to solve a problem, or if they answer a pertinent question arising out of the needs of the children.

Step seven: The teaching strategy and style must be found to suit the learning style of the class and its needs. If the needs of the children are for power and responsibility, they should have a chance to experience power and responsibility, and a style which give all the power and responsibility to the teacher will interfere with learning.

Step eight: What strategies of behaviour does the child require to fill his needs? What knowledge does he need?

Step nine: What specific skills of thought, language, etc., does the child already have, and what does he lack, to develop these strategies, and to expand his resources? If they can be taught, and the questions above have been put seriously to the child himself, the child will see the need for these skills.

Step ten: Finally, the teacher and his class must evaluate the lesson: what weaknesses were there in the strategies learned, how could they be improved, what new strategies are suggested?

The authors provide a number of examples of the above outline in operation. Here is how one lesson plan evolved in an eighth grade mathematics class: the teacher overheard a group of students talking about quitting school early to "make good money." He asked them what they meant by "good money," and they gave him their estimate -- $40 a week. The teacher worked out with the class a definition of "good money," as the amount of money needed to supply basic needs of food, clothing and shelter. The class then made estimates of how much they thought it would cost each month to supply these necessities. Newspaper ads were consulted, a film was shown, and the class visited a department store. Afterwards, the students revised their estimates of the cost of living. They learned that it was higher than they

thought. Again, newspapers were consulted to find out what jobs were available, and the salaries they paid. Most want-ads called for special training and a minimum of a high school diploma. The students were then asked to review their statement that they wanted to quit school and make "good money" (pp. 405-407).

Such inductive learning related to immediate concerns need not take place only around such hard facts of life as getting a good job. The process of learning follows the same pattern, for example, when children are encouraged to take social action. In one school, children who were unhappy with the food in the cafeteria were actually encouraged by their teacher to take action. They organized a boycott of the cafeteria, drew up and argued their case, and had a conference with the principal. A petition was circulated, negotiations took place, and a compromise was reached. The experience was treated by the teacher and principal as a learning experience in citizenship (p. 404).

Lessons on a standard prescribed course can also be taught in this way, if the children are exposed to real experiences which raise questions in their own mind. For one lesson on "The Role of American Industry," children were taken on a field trip <u>before</u> the formal lesson, and not as a reward. They were taken to a shoe factory and told to jot down any thoughts or questions they had. Then the class and teacher together compiled questions and comments and talked about the experience. To answer the questions, letters were written to the factory management, and the children returned to the factory for more specific information. Reading and writing were <u>used</u> after the experience, as helpful tools for gaining and understanding of a tangible experience (p. 399).

The model curriculum of Fantini and Weinstein is described by the authors as:

1. Diversified: this means that the whole idea of a required curriculum which the teacher must cover in a given period, is at least modified, if not thrown out entirely; the curriculum is developed by the teacher, perhaps in consultation with other teachers;

2. Experiential: this means that the curriculum is based, as nearly as possible, on direct experience; the child experiences, sees, takes part in things first, then proceeds through visual symbols to the verbal symbols of language; where direct experience is not available, contrived experiences, drama, demonstrations and field trips are used to <u>initiate</u> the learning experience;

3. Vertical: this means that skills are learned in a programmed way, in the sense that one skill is built on the previous one, step by small step, and even the child knows something of the pattern of the year ahead of him in school;

4. Immediate: this means that the subjects presented and discussed in the classroom begin with the present, not with the past or future -- with an immediate project in which the children participate; the past, (history, and cold facts), is useful if it illuminates the understanding of something real and experienced by the children;

5. A "why" curriculum: this means that the content of any course revolves around themes and concepts which are relevant to the child, which help the child understand and explain his own life; a lesson on international conflict, for example, can grow out of the personal conflicts that the child himself experiences -- the theme in this case is conflict;

6. Participating: this means that the school programme itself must employ social action, in which the child becomes involved -- not just raising funds for charity, but involving the pupils in community projects much as Covello did in his community school, even encouraging the children to band together within the school and negotiate for practices they would like to have changed;

7. Reality-orientated: instead of teaching children only the prettiest facts about society, the reality-oriented curriculum confronts real social problems; the immigrant child himself might learn something of the problems of prejudice against newcomers, of slums and why they are there; Covello always encouraged his art classes to draw what they saw around them in Harlem, and not pretty fields and flowers (1958, p. 216);

8. Affective: that is, based on the emotional needs of the children, their real concerns as defined above, (from Fantini and Weinstein, 1968, pp. 341-366).

The kind of curriculum reform described above is the real core of Fantini and Weinstein's proposals for reform in the school system. Such a curriculum building process would be suited to a community-centred school, of the sort which might confront the problems of cultural minorities; it would also seem to be suited to other schools in other communities. Around the core of a reformed curriculum, the authors have outlined suggestions for teacher training, focusing on developing a teacher's sensitivity to the needs of her pupils, along with developing attitudes and techniques necessary for maintaining discipline. These suggestions for teacher-training are included in some of the training received by Peace Corps volunteers (Fantini & Weinstein, Chapter 9). Equally important, the authors devote a great deal of space to the strategies for implementing reform (Chapters 7 and 8).

Any change or innovation in a school, whether it is a new technique, a programme, or a genuine reform, depends for its success or failure on the strategy employed in bringing about the change. For example, in establishing a community school, if Covello's school in Harlem is an example of how to do it, then the Adams-Morgan project in Washington, D.C., is in many ways an example of how not to do it. In a recent article in the Harvard Educational Review, the former Project Director of that school describes the turmoil which resulted from poor strategy in implementing a community school. The basic fault with the procedure, it seems, was that an outside agency (Antioch College, and a few interested middle-class whites who never really took part in the Negro community served by the school) attempted to set up a governing body for the school, which would also be a broad community council. The council was set up on the spot, from the start, before any issues were raised or problems directly confronted in the community at large. There were many other important mistakes made, but this was the central one (Lauter, 1968). Covello's community school, on the other hand, evolved its organization out of direct confrontation with immediate and pressing issues -- housing was a problem, so the school (an existing school, part of the regular school system) took part in an effort to meet the problems.

The same lesson appears repeatedly in literature on community organization: a group which is organized around a specific issue or problem can evolve into a more structured, permanent group, affiliated with other groups; an artificial group organized for vague purposes that other people conceive, will fail (see, for example, Balicki, 1959).

Covello's programme in Harlem made use of Spanish-speaking and Italian-speaking teachers in high school, to teach the literature and advanced

skills of those languages to students who spoke them at home. Within the rest of the curriculum he modified the content and approach when the programme of community development required it. Here, the immense problem of educating cultural minorities can be related to the broader problem of reforming the whole education system. Consider Covello's extensive programme as part of what might evolve out of a programme in Toronto schools if the principles of Fantini and Weinstein were to be applied. The concerns of all children are expressed, and their needs met, in ways learned from a culture. Hence, in order to be truly aware of the needs of her pupils, a teacher would have to know the culture, and probably, the language, of each pupil; and such knowledge and understanding would be required, not just in a high school, but from kindergarten up. The need-meeting curriculum would vary greatly from community to community, from school to school, and from room to room. Moreover, it would apply to wealthy areas as well as poor districts, to homogeneous communities as well as multi-ethnic communities, and would not always be part of a community programme such as that of Benjamin Franklin High School.

Covello's community programme died with the principal's retirement, and had little lasting impact on the New York school system. Basic reform is not readily accepted and adopted in the manner of new methods and techniques.

Editorial Postscript

Edgar Z. Friedenberg in a current article entitled Sentimental Education (New York Review of Books, November 21, 1968, p. 18) condemns Fantini and Weinstein (1968) for the fact that their proposals do not suggest necessary changes in society. His well written article helps to emphasize the conflicts and differences of opinion which seem to encompass every attempt to respond to the problems of students who belong to a cultural minority.

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The following bibliography represents a portion of the relevant materials on the methods, programmes and reforms arising from problems of educating cultural minorities. From the materials researched for the preceding chapter, a sample of literature has been selected to indicate the kinds of methods and proposals presently under consideration in several parts of the English-speaking world. Where the title of an article or book is not self-explanatory, brief comment describing the article has been included. Additional materials bearing on the education of cultural minorities, including immigrants, can be found in a bibliography compiled by Robert E. Booth, Theodore Manheim, Diane A. Satterthwaite, and Gloria L. Dardarian, titled Culturally Disadvantaged, and published by the Wayne University Press, Detroit, 1967.

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